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## SITUATION REPORTS

### POLAND

*Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski yesterday came close to explicitly asking Polish strikers to return to work.*

Speaking to an estimated crowd of 100,000 in Czestochowa, the Polish Primate said that there is no well-being without work and that "not working" is a very costly argument. He also counseled that "one must not demand too much," perhaps reflecting a belief that the strikers are being too uncompromising.

The government broadcast Wyszynski's homily on nationwide prime time television, one of the few times the Polish media have aired a religious event. Regime leaders undoubtedly hope that Wyszynski's message will help put the workers in a mood to compromise. They can also claim that the broadcast is a step toward meeting the strikers' demand that the Church have greater access to the media.

The reaction of strikers to the televised message is not yet available. Workers have interpreted earlier, more ambiguous Church statements as support for their cause and could read the same message into the Cardinal's remark that "man has a right to abstain from working when there is no other way to emphasize his importance."

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### Tough Negotiations

The strikers and regime have both adopted very tough bargaining stances. During the official negotiating sessions in Gdansk, the strike leaders firmly restated their demand for free trade unions and threatened to call a nationwide general strike if the demand is not met.

Chief government negotiator Jagielski--while reportedly willing to concede to workers the right to strike *in extremis*--tried to keep the talks focused on economic matters and refused to discuss the issue of free trade unions. The two sides reportedly agreed to let a sub-commission of "experts" debate the issue.

Strike leaders are publicly remaining adamant on the free trade union issue, but some of the dissident intellectuals who have gone to Gdansk to aid the strikers reportedly are split on the matter.

The regime seemed to be signaling last night that it is near the limits of what it is prepared to concede on the free trade union issue. In a dramatically worded statement on national television last evening, Ryszard Wojna, an editor of the party daily, said that there are certain subjects that cannot be discussed and "where peoples' power cannot and has no right to yield." He explicitly said that Poland is in the Soviet sphere of influence and that any basic change in Poland's political system could bring "dangerous consequences." He raised the specter of a "national catastrophe"--similar to the partitioning of Poland in the late 18th century--if the situation continues to develop "in a dangerous way."

Wojna's statement could reflect the deliberations of an "important" Politburo meeting yesterday afternoon that forced Jagielski to delay negotiations in Gdansk and fly back to Warsaw. The Politburo may also have felt compelled to take this emotion-laden stand in reaction to accumulating evidence that the labor unrest is spreading. Strikes have been reported in Lodz, Wroclaw, and

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elsewhere. At least some of these strikes are clearly demonstrations of solidarity with the workers in Gdansk. At the large tractor factory in Ursus, for instance, workers have formed a "Solidarity Committee" but have continued to work. [REDACTED]

The meeting yesterday of the official trade union organization probably did little to convince strikers that the party is serious about trade union reform. The former conservative union boss was removed, but his replacement is a candidate member of the party's Central Committee who has come up through union ranks. [REDACTED]

Military Activity

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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We anticipate [redacted] additional Polish military activity as contingents prepare for the major Warsaw Pact exercise to be held in East Germany in early September. It will be increasingly difficult to determine whether such activity is related to domestic Polish developments or to the Warsaw Pact exercise. [redacted]

Soviet Government Comments

In Moscow's first official government comment on Poland's troubles, a foreign ministry spokesman yesterday described the events as "purely an internal affair of that state," implicitly warning the West against exploiting the situation and, at the same time, attempting to allay Western fears of Soviet intervention. [redacted]

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